

775 on the hills of Arecurê. He had hair washed away by the clouds,
 172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course
 of the Tapajós; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human
 hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff
 of Cantagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu
 faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint them-
 selves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion
 as Caru-facacêbê was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos --
 Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
 friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the
 dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe
 and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and
 disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence
 he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-facacêbê had disap-
 peared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [88] to hunt,
 searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while
 they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-
 Pitubê appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekrã, climbed into a hammock, seized a
 horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar
 way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to
 the call and offered the warrior dao [food prepared from Brazil
 nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubê had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these
strange ornaments.

304 The tanning procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As
might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will
to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground,
and deprived of any motion.

• [35] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a
sharp apouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[36] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the
incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed,
and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is
performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects
of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal be-
fore the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely
that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing
twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social
64 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a
chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to
tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacachê.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial
customs.

[32] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

65 They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former
coaru and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall.
And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin
to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

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224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other food-stuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dad, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

325 It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantina, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported.

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CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucu* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucu* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period.

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Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to head-dresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucu* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.⁹ The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors.

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A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucu* village, staff-bearers came to meet him.

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Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucu* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucu* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).)

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⁹ Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but zoologists attribute the change to dietary factors.

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled farther, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

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825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the putchashi (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucu recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

776 offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter

825 killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Mundurucu, but a screamer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of [828] importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Mundurucu. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

776 The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Mundurucu belief system for they persist in Mundurucu culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the caboclos, the Mundurucu believed in the evil spirit known as

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

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No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

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The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

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727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return
765 of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order
[616] for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the *iboiwatitit* consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's *iboiwatitit* to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

[578] The *iboiwatitit* member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's *iboiwatitit* engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society,
554 the shaman, and the *iboiwatitit* of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses
784 connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was
554 referred to as *Dajeboişi*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary,"
[609] an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game
[825] animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit
224 protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the *Dajeboişi*

721 the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

727 The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number
782 of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to
• [825] the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsanisa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

721 Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the *pariwat* in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

721 The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the
182 incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

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a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home.

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucu to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha si*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha si*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha si* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which *envira cherosa* has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha si*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucu ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha si* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucu hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha si*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha si* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha si* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucu sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucu to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha si* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha si* would become extremely angry.

The *putcha si* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha si*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha si* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha si* sends another.

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776 The *putcha ši* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakip* and the
 224 *wirakú*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful,
 825 stonelike object in which the *putcha ši* is sometimes found. The *yakip*, on the
 other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse.
 Both the *wirakú* and the *yakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called
chewoi, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucu believe that every animal
 possesses a *wirakú* and a *yakip* as part of its power (*chewoi*); these malignant
 forces apparently can be controlled by the *putcha ši* and used by it to avenge the
 grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakip* or the *wirakú*
 can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putcha ši*. One shaman
 stated that the *yakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirakú*
 then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection
 over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the
putcha ši, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in
 Mundurucu thought are the *biú ši*, the *daje ši*, the *rapsem ši*, and the *taué*
ši, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the prego monkey,
 respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shaman-
 istic performances, as is the *putcha ši*, and they are capable of avenging any
 offense given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucu commonly
 speak of "feeding the *putcha ši*" and of the "vengeance of the *putcha ši*," though
 scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the
 species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor
 are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirakú*. On the contrary, the
 species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence
 in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

776 Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance
 825 than the animal mothers. The *asima ši* is the mother of the fish, a position equiva-
 226 lent to that of the *putcha ši* in the animal world. The *asima ši* travels in small
 alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known
 to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *asima ši* is
 also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian
 life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga and tracajá,
 species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their
 children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or
 manatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs.
 There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated
 in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

776 This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents
 184 the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucu beliefs are not,
 825 however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in
 individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on
 the nature of the *wirakú*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

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stone and alive and strong. The *wirakú* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *putcha ñi* was a *wirakú*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirakú*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *putcha ñi* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *putcha ñi*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

EVIL SPIRITS

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Yuruparí*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Yuruparí*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Yuruparí* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Yuruparí*. Another type of *Yuruparí* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Yuruparí* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Yuruparí* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Yuruparí*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Yuruparí* frequently complains to them that the other *Yuruparí* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Yuruparí* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Yuruparí* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Yuruparí*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

776 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air.
 825 Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle
 753 of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but
 755 Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while
 797 in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the
 825 fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.^{*} Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

^{*} Wagley, 1953, p. 240.

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panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratric affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucu shifted from a patrilineal to a matrilineal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucu thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

THE SOUL

The Mundurucu believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiundök*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiundök*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aiük* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiundök* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucu are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*, go to *Karökökai*, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as *Upöcharö*, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

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part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one section of its passage by bending an assai palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul.

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucu belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the *mãe de bicho* punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desirable and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kokeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucu. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Yurupari*. The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers during the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucu were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul.

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger.

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, known as *cheseretaibitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucu of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucu culture and known by other dreamers.

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucu thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be

¹² Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

774 under the protection of a spirit mother nor do they possess the *chewoi*, or malignant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed
● 825 with souls much like those of the Mundurucu. However, informants had no idea
775 where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucu chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."

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in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapô* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapô* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men.

To make a *yapô* the shaman prepares a paste of *sorva sap* and *urucú* and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the *uirapurú* bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of *uirapurú* meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the *boa boa* bird or of the *matrinchão* fish. The use of the *uirapurú* as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the *uirapurú*, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapô* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapô* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *couñi* and then recommends a preparation made of *sorva sap* and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

SORCERY

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibokaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have

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*241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determining the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

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1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

• [825]

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /7/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from